804 177 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.

[436] The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda.

### 3. Handicrafts

463 433 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is [437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery 463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is 462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on 563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

● 323 of the slate districts of Urundi and Ruanda where good pottery clay (uwumba) has formed from decomposed or alluvial slate. In most cases its color ranges from dark gray to black. Thus it happens that entire potters' villages are built at such sites, a process which has been, and still is, greatly facilitated by the caste separation the pariah-like Batwa.

The clay is dug by the men, kneaded with water, and beaten with a club until it has been freed of rough particles and becomes pliable. A small, round clod of clay which has been somewhat flattened with the hand is placed on a piece of a broken pot which serves as a foundation. A sausage-like ring of clay is superimposed around the edge so as to make a kind of bowl (Plate 7b). Adding superimposed long rings of clay is then repeated. The joints are filled in and smoothed out with a moist hand. All the time the whole thing is constantly turned around on the broken piece (urudsjo) under it (a primitive potter's wheel). While it is turning, the object is polished with the hand and water is sprinkled on it until the pot attains the desired size and shape. The rim is then evened off with a tree leaf. The real finishing, inside and out, is undertaken only after the vessel has dried somewhat in the air. For this purpose a piece of calabash, a small piece of wood, a piece of bark, or a little flat stone is used. Finally, simple linear 323 decorations (wavy lines or zigzag rows of short lines) are 591 scratched below the neck of the vessel with a pointed piece of wood or iron. No figures are scratched on the surface, nor are the pots dyed or even glazed. Van der Burgt believes that the wavy and zigzag lines of the decorations are supposed to be mysterious symbols for the "lightning of Imana," the highest god, which might be regarded as "a kind of hieroglyphic writing" (No. 19, p. 452). I do not believe that the potters are so profound, and I regard the patterns as a purely mechanical expression of the desire for ornamentation. The Barundi and Batwa themselves also assured me that these patterns had no deeper meaning. Clay pots of the European Stone Age show the same simple decoration which is determined purely by primitive techniques.

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from a Mutwa.

323 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
415 vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[274] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
[782] ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48, p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious rituals (p. 127).

323 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
276 mention, although they play only a minor role among the Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, depending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
323 bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
439 Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

323 415 439 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in [435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

285 The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa) than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few [352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such [513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men [462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 415 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

Plate 7

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Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--282 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 48

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Earthenware Pots.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) Earthenware vessels for liquids, 18 to 20 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Berlin. — Nos. 4, 5, 6) Earthenware cooking pots, 14 to 22 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in
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1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

224 The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the
[195] true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

285 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we ●323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/
776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes,
775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

285 wrapper around beer jugs, for some of the woven quivers, and for mats to place under dishes. I remember having seen the pattern of Type II, in which the vertical strips are held together on the outside by a spiral, only on quivers (see Fig. 153).

Baskets used for traveling, in which toilet articles and small items are kept, are made of two stick mats [153] placed together vertically, bent to form a cylinder, and fastened together with several (usually four) horizontally attached hoops (see Fig. 45).

The sewn baskets are made from slender bundles of fine straw which are coiled and bound with bast. The bast binding is drawn through the previously bound coil of straw and sewn in this manner. The attachment of one coil to another makes the basket. The hole for the thread drawn through the coils is made with an iron needle (mhindu) which is also used to remove sand fleas. The needle has a flat head which is used to smooth out the bound bundle and make it more pliable. The patterns on the baskets are made with black banana leaf sheaths tied around certain parts of the coils.

The finest plaiting of this type is found in Ruanda on the covers of milk containers. Nevertheless, they cannot be compared with those of Kiziba and Kyanja. The small storage baskets (chibo) represent somewhat coarser work.

As may be seen from the above description, household equipment is mostly plaited objects, and their production takes up a large share of the women's time in every household. The best work is done by the Batutsi women who regard it as our women do their needlework.

●323 Pottery. Objects of pottery stand second in the inventory of household furnishings. Pottery is produced by professional artisans who work exclusively for the market. In Ruanda most of the potters are Batwa men, but there are also Bahutu men and women who work as potters. In Kissaka I saw only women working at the trade.

Pots are not made on a wheel. However, traces of this tool are evident in the sherds which are used to shape the pot.

The clay which has been mixed with water is dampened slightly by the worker. She takes a lump of this and by hand shapes a cylindrical roll, 30 centimeters long and two to three centimeters thick. This roll is wound spirally like the straw coils used in

323 making baskets, thus forming the lower part of the pot. The rolls of clay are pressed together inside and out, and when the lower part of the pot is formed, additional spirals are added and pressed together. The procedure is continued to the upper edge of the pot or the neck of the jug, the spiral rolls still being recognizable. When it is finished thus far, [154] the pot is dipped in water and smoothed out with a piece of gourd until the rolls disappear. The upper edges are worked over with special care. They are carefully smoothed with a wet leaf (Acanthus arboreus) while the pot is rotated on the sherd. The ornamentation is also added while the pot is rotated, though much more slowly. A cylinder of plaited grass is rolled against the sides of the pot to make the primitive [531] decorations. Geometrical designs are also applied.

The pots made in this way are allowed to dry for a few days and are then fired. It is said that they are fired in the pits used to warm the unripe, unfermented beer. Pots are also fired in the open where they are stacked in pyramids, packed with firewood and grass on the sides and banana stalks on top, and thus fired. The high moisture content of the banana stalks slows the burning of the wood and prolongs the entire process, which should help to keep the pots from cracking. Nevertheless, there is always a considerable residue of useless pots.

To increase the quality of the goods, it is said that crushed sherds are added to the clay.

Potters are found on every hill. In Kissaka where there are no markets, they work only to supply the needs of the immediate vicinity.

[532] A secondary branch of pottery is the manufacture of pipes and "little love pots," tiny vessels in which the women carry their amulets which are said to guarantee them the love of their husbands. These objects are made of kneaded clay and hollowed out with special small spatulas. These two classes of objects, if [531] they are decorated at all, primarily have only linear geometrical ornamentation.

6: Czekanowski--77 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 81. Tobacco Pouch Made of a Cow Bladder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E6998. 31 centimeters long.)

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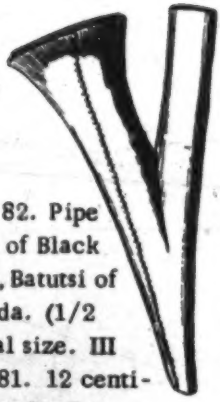

Fig. 82. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Batutsi of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13081. 12 centimeters long.)

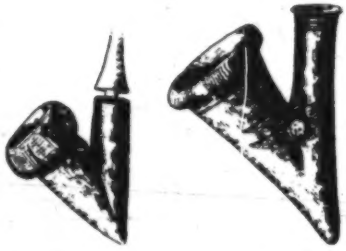

Fig. 84. Pipe Bowls of the Bahutu, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 83. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 13080. 9 centimeters long.)

Fig. 85. Pipe Bowl of White Clay, Bahutu of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 86. Pipe Bowl from Bgisha. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 87. Pipe from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13715. 5 1/2 centimeters long.)

6: Czekanowski--115 E-5 (1907-1909) 1917 FO42 Rundi FO42



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Fig. 134. Stick Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10032. 48 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 135. Cooking Pot from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15172.)

Fig. 136. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15264.)

Fig. 137. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L14755.)

Fig. 138. Supporting Ring from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13726. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer. The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

[210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets. The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

# *Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values*

[8]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954.

[9]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights.

[10]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi.

[11]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred.

[12]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society.

[13]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups.

[14]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.*

[15]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste.

[16]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956.

[17]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three.

[18]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[19]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer.

[20]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light.

[21]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help.

[22]It has been suggested that anaemia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy.

[23]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system.



WYA 18